

The King's Bullock Catcher

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The natives called him *Huakini Paniola*, and in their effort to reduce the Spanish to a more understandable phonetic Hawaiian they spelled his name in a variety of ways from "Huakin" to "Wokene". Dr. Baldwin and some of the other *haoles* referred to him as "the Spaniard". His real name was Joaquin Armas. He was about five feet eight inches tall, with black hair and eyes, and a dark swarthy complexion. During his years at Waimea, Hawaii, and Lahaina, Maui, he must have been a picturesque character in his colorful poncho, his wide-brimmed hat sometimes worn over a red bandanna, polished bottoms along the sides of his trousers open from the knee down, and his richly adorned Mexican saddle with broad winged stirrups and jingling spurs.¹

He was born in 1809 in San Diego, California, then a part of Mexico. He was the son of Sebastian Armas, a Mexican soldier. Before he was a year old, the family moved to Monterey where his brother, Felipe, was born in 1810. At an early age, both boys became soldiers and *vaqueros* (cowboys). At this time, the great herds of cattle in California were controlled by the Catholic Missions. Hides and tallow from these cattle were the support of the foreign trade and did much to pay the expense of government. It is believed that young Armas, as a Spanish Mexican and Catholic worked for the Missions, catching cattle, and that he learned

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to tan the hides and prepare the tallow. At any rate, he became an expert in these pursuits.²

While Joaquin Armas was busy catching cattle, tanning hides and preparing tallow in Mexico, the cattle which Captain George Vancouver had brought to the Hawaiian Islands from Monterey in 1793 as a gift to Kamehameha the Great, had multiplied to such an extent that they had become a menace to crops, cultivated taro fields and habitations, and even to the lives of the natives themselves. Stone walls were built in many areas to contain the cattle and to protect the lives and property of the people. Some of the cattle had been brought to Oahu, and the building of a great stone wall to contain them was a major project of the chiefs during 1831. The wall started at the northeast corner of the King's residence at "Pelekane" (site now occupied by St. Andrew's Cathedral), ran to Punchbowl, then along the eastern side of the hill to Makiki and then turned down *makai* of Punahou. More than 2000 people worked on the wall at various times, including the King and his *Hulumanus* (court favorites), Kaahumanu and other high chiefs. The King also went bullock catching, sometimes with his *Hulumanus*, and sometimes with the foreigners. Cattle were sold to the whaling ships for beef, but since the King had learned from California of the value of hides and tallow, this aspect of bullock catching and disposal took on greater importance as a means of paying off his mounting indebtedness to H. A. Pierce and others.³

Meanwhile, back in California, by 1831, there was a considerable increase in the number of Americans coming from the east, and there was a growing movement for the secularization of the Missions and the breaking up of the large herds of cattle. This led to an uprising of the government and the deposing of the ruling Governor. Whether the Armas family was involved in this political situation, or whether Joaquin just wanted to see something of the world, we do not know, but in 1831 he boarded the British Whaleship, *Harriet*, Captain Reed, intending eventually to go to London.⁴

The *Harriet* arrived in Honolulu on April 4, 1831. The following day the King was out bullock catching. On the 15th he heard that there were two fiddle players on the *Harriet*. The King, like most Hawaiians, loved music and played the fiddle himself, so he went aboard to hear the fiddlers. When he talked to Captain Reed, he learned that there was also on board an expert at catching wild bullocks. It is not hard to imagine the King's reaction to this information. The two young men met and talked—Armas was about five years older than the King. Kauikeaouli asked Joaquin to go ashore and live with him. The Mexican explained that he had no desire to leave the ship, and that he wanted to proceed

to England. But the King could be persuasive, and got Captain Reed to help him out. He promised Armas his friendship and protection and the means of making a livelihood.⁵

There must have been a certain attraction between these two young men. Armas agreed to stay and went ashore with the King. Joaquin stayed on Oahu for about seven months, probably living in one of the thatched buildings inside the enclosure near the King's residence at Pelekane. He undoubtedly saw the people at work on the stone wall in August of 1831, but his time must have been spent catching the wild bullocks above the wall.⁶

At the end of seven months, according to Armas, the King sent him to Waimea, Hawaii, where the wild cattle were plentiful. The missionaries stationed at Waimea noted that there was a considerable increase in "beef catching" in January of 1832. To get the hides to the ships, Kuakini (Governor of the Island of Hawaii and usually called John Adams) had had a road built from Waimea to Kawaihae by sentencing to this labor 40 men who had violated the seventh commandment. Missionaries complained that schools were disrupted because Governor Adams had the people carrying beef hides and timber to the shore on their backs, and bringing back salt. The Governor was spending part of his time at Waimea to supervise the bullock catching. Joaquin also worked for Governor Adams. Adams was one of the few chiefs who had accumulated considerable cash; he treated Armas well, and paid him handsomely.⁷

Joaquin apparently came to Honolulu occasionally to discuss business with the King and buy a bottle of gin or a pig from Mr. French. Later he and other Mexicans traded at French's stores in Kawaihae and Waimea. So far we have not located the date of the arrival of his brother Felipe, although he may have been the second "Spaniard" that Dr. Baldwin mentioned in a letter to Levi Chamberlain in October 1832, when he wrote that the King had eight horses and would perhaps have two Spaniards to use them. Dr. Baldwin was very anxious to have a horse for the use of the Missionaries at Waimea. When he finally acquired one, Levi Chamberlain suggested he get someone to take proper care of it. Dr. Baldwin spoke to "the Spaniard" about it. The Spaniard, whose speech was as colorful as his clothes, told him that he would attend to it when the moon was full.⁸

There were several other *Paniolos* (originally derived from the Hawaiian pronunciation of *Español*, it is now the Hawaiian word for cowboy) at Waimea. It is not clear whether they arrived before or after Joaquin Armas. The son of Missionary Lorenzo Lyons of Waimea remembered them as Huanu, Hoke, Hoachina, meaning of course as

he says, Juan, Jose, Joachin, etc. At least two of them went to Waimea on April 27, 1833, when Stephen Reynolds noted in his journal that the Brig *Neo* sailed for Hawaii with Spaniards and horses to catch bullocks for the King.⁹

Armas was at Waimea for about nine years. Most of the time he seems to have worked alone except for the help of the *kanakas* whom the king had assigned to him. Apparently the King and Armas exchanged letters. In December of 1833, he wrote to tell the King that he was sending him 30 Bullocks in accordance with his letter. A few years later in 1838, the following letter illustrates some of the problems he was having, especially on *Poalima* days when the natives had to work for the chiefs. The unusual spelling of his name may be the way the King spelled it. Although the King was eloquent in Hawaiian, his written English, including his spellings could hardly be considered a credit to his Missionary teacher, Mr. Bingham.

Most gracious Sire,

Agreeable to your order I have sent your Schooner Three yoke of Bullocks and the Horse it was my intention to come down myself with them but I want to go in the mountain. I should particularly wish to see you concerning the Kanakas shooting, they go all about my pens Shooting and Frightening the Bullocks away if there is not a stop put to it, I shant be able in a short time to get any this side of the mountain likewise they take away my Kanakars [sic] on the Pooaloa [sic] Days which prevents my going out till nearly half the week I most sincerley wish you will be pleased to make an alteration in the affair it Injures me a great deal by their shooting and taking my People from me The land you was pleased to give me I did not except of it was no use to me as there was no Grub on it I am very short of Provisions I cant buy any as it is so scarce in this place I hope you please send up to the Governor and ask him to give me another land hoping that you are well is the sincere wishes of your

Obedt Humble Servant
WOKENE ARMEAS

P. S. While the Kanakars are working for me they are also doing your work at the same time.¹⁰

When he wrote to the British Commission in 1843, he said that sometimes he worked in the mountains for four or five months at a time exposed to cold and hunger, and when he was pressed by the King for a specific number of hides, he was "frequently obliged to work at night running the risk of my life in capturing wild Bulls and receiving great injury in body from the falls." He had four horses in doing this dangerous work for the King. He wrote back that in 1835, the King gave him land in Kohala known as Pualualu; hopefully this land had "Grub" on it. The King did not have the cash that Governor Adams had and so had to pay for the work Armas was doing for him in land. Armas estimated that during the time he had worked for the King he had provided him with cattle, hides and tallow to the amount of sixty thousand six hundred

dollars, and he had receipts and documents from merchants to prove it. For himself he had managed to tame some wild oxen which he had broken into work, and he had bought some horses with money he had earned from Governor Adams.¹¹

Sometime in 1836 or early 1837, the King apparently promised Armas an additional piece of land and a house. At any rate, on one occasion when they were both in Lahaina, Armas reminded the King of his promise and asked for an answer "in respect to the house" before the King went to the other side of the island.

Testimony later given on LCA 962 indicated that this house lot was given to him by the King in 1837 and included two *leles* (non-contiguous parcels of land) which were taro patches. The King also made Armas the *konohiki* (headman) for the *ahupuaa* (land division) of Moanui at Lahaina. However, he seems to have continued to work at Waimea for at least two or three more years, and perhaps collected rent from the Chinese store in the house at Moanui which belonged to him.¹²

Joaquin Armas does not seem to have been too popular as a *konohiki* at Moanui. The Chinese who are believed to have used the first floor as a store, would have had to be ousted so he could use the house. Kaumauma testified that because Armas was *konohiki*, he had taken away land at Moanui from Nawaakoa who had received it in 1823 from Hoapili. Nakahoa, another witness, in describing the land of Kokio [LCA 6498—see map] told the Land Commission that it was bounded on one side by the "High Paki" (which could be translated as a man of substance or a show-off).¹³

Waimea had developed into the center of a considerable beef establishment. About 60 foreigners resided there—mostly mechanics and bullock catchers. In addition to his store, Mr. French had a tanning business under the direction of a Chinaman. He even had a shoemaker and a saddle maker. Both the Hawaiians and the foreigners had learned much from the *Paniolos*. Some of the cattle were slaughtered for their meat, which was either eaten fresh or jerked for the Oahu market, or packed in barrels and salted to sell to the whaling ships. Most of the cattle were killed for hide and tallow and the flesh was left on the ground to decay.¹⁴

In 1839 or 1840, the King sent a native [possibly Isaac Davis, Jr., who was later to be in charge of the King's horses and cattle at Waimea] to work with Armas. The Mexican, who had worked so hard and so long alone, objected to this, saying that the man knew nothing of the business. Shortly afterwards, the cattle and horses and many of the things Armas had bought with his own money were taken by Kekauluohi. Armas thought this was because he would not accept the man the King had

sent to work with him, but it is more likely that Kekauluohi, who had become *Kuhina Nui* in April of 1839 at the death of Kinau, had found out that he was a Catholic. The King, not wanting anyone to interfere with the bullock catcher who was providing the means to pay off some of his debts, probably had kept this information from Kinau and other chiefs. But now the King had other problems, and apparently did not come to the rescue of Armas. Kinau had been much opposed to the Catholics and considered their services idolatrous. She had been instrumental in establishing the law of December 18, 1837, "rejecting the Catholic Religion." For a while, Kekauluohi followed in Kinau's footsteps, and there is no doubt that some of the Catholics were persecuted. This may be the reason that Armas' possessions were taken away from him, and as he wrote the British Commission later, he was left penniless, "turned adrift as a vagabond in poverty." Although the "Edict of Toleration" signed June 17, 1839, voided the December 1837 law, Armas did not recover his cattle and horses. When Governor Adams and the King in 1840 put a *kapu* on killing any more cattle only for their hides, Joaquin's means of making a livelihood in Waimea, in the way he seemed to like best, was gone. We do not know the date he moved to Lahaina, but it must have been in 1840 or earlier.¹⁵

At Lahaina, he lived for a short time in the house in Moanui which the King had given him and must have been there in January of 1841 when Father Maigret and Father Denis Maudet made a short visit to Lahaina. The first Catholic mass ever celebrated on the island of Maui was in the house "of a certain Joakini" on January 24, 1841. Some white people and a few natives who had been baptized in Honolulu assisted at this mass.¹⁶

Because the Armas brothers were Catholic and because the British were more tolerant of Catholics in the Islands, and also because they had learned to prefer the British to the Americans in Mexico, Joaquin and Felipe soon made friends with Joseph Mellish, a Catholic from London who was a merchant in Lahaina. Mr. Mellish had tried to establish a store in Lahaina back in 1837, but had been prevented from landing by Hoapili. Later the next year, possibly with threats of British warships, Mr. Charlton, the British Consul, succeeded in establishing Mellish in Lahaina. For some time he was the agent for the American firm of Pierce and Brewer. Several years later when the British firm of Starkey and Janion was established in Honolulu, he became their agent in Lahaina. But in 1840, when the Armas brothers first knew him, Mellish had the principal store in Lahaina—a thatched cottage without a floor. Felipe worked in the store as a clerk, and Joaquin may have been a clerk for a while. After Felipe was fined for selling liquor without a

license, even though his employer had one, Joaquin applied for a retail license. He also had a license for a victualling house. It is possible that with the help of Mellish, the house at Moanui was used for this purpose, but there is nothing to substantiate this idea outside of the inclusion of his name in a list of those having licenses in Lahaina and the fact that Mellish complained about his place being too small. It is also possible that they were associated in the operation of the premises that Mellish rented in 1842 from Kehekili.¹⁷ But this kind of life had no appeal for him, and he was soon back at an occupation at which he was an expert, working with cattle.

Many things of importance happened during Armas' early years in Lahaina, in part because the King was then living on Maui: the first written constitution for the Islands was signed; the United States Exploring Expedition visited; and the Islands were temporarily ceded to the British, through whose Commission letters and documents much of the information concerning Armas has been revealed. However, Joaquin was more interested in some means of making a living than he was in the history that was taking place around him. While the chiefs and missionaries were concerned about the number of grog shops and the conduct of some of the natives and the sailors who thronged the streets of Lahaina during the whaling seasons, he was undoubtedly more concerned with how he could turn their presence into a means of making some money. Most of the foreign merchants had similar interests. Because he had a victualling license, he and his brother and Mr. Mellish undoubtedly provided some of the sailors with food, and probably with something to drink. They may even have been involved in providing victuals for sick and destitute seamen, sometimes known as "the Consul's men" before the hospital was established.¹⁸

Armas must have been delighted when he heard that a building was needed in Lahaina for a seamen's hospital. Mr. John G. Munn, who was purveyor for the hospitals for sick and destitute seamen, may have come to Lahaina, or Armas may have gone to Honolulu to negotiate an agreement for a lease which would provide him with a small but much needed income, until other plans that he had initiated could be worked out. Milo Calkins, the recently appointed United States Vice Commercial Agent at Lahaina, objected when he heard that Mr. Munn had "engaged a house of Huakini" and added, "It will not do—is over a mile distant & a bad road to carry sick men over."¹⁹

Armas' other plans were also maturing. He had known William French since the King had persuaded the bullock catcher to stay in the Islands. He and other Spanish Americans gathered to talk and relax in the French stores in Waimea and Kawaihae. While the date of the

agreement [which still exists in the Bancroft Library in California] between Mr. French and Armas is not known, it must have been made shortly after Armas went to Lahaina to live. It provided that Mr. French would send cattle from his ranch on Hawaii, which Armas would receive and kill and sell the beef to the whaling ships at Lahaina. Since the success of the arrangement depended on having cattle available when there was a demand for them during the whaling seasons, it was necessary for Armas to take care of them until they were needed. He requested from the government permission to lease for 20 years land at Lahaina called Honokahua for pasturing his "animals and cattle" and offered to pay \$400 a year. The lease was granted—but at \$500. The final sentence in this request, addressed to Keoni Ana, who was then Minister of the Interior, is most interesting:

I am a foreigner who have taken the oath of allegiance, and married to an Hawaiian woman.²⁰

Despite a diligent search, we have been unable to date to find a record of the date of the marriage of Joaquin Armas or the name of his wife. Since foreign men who married Hawaiian women were required to take an oath of allegiance after November of 1840, it may have been before that time, or after Armas took his oath on January 7, 1845. The date of the birth of their daughter, Luisa, is also still a mystery. Since he was undoubtedly disturbed at the persecution of the Catholics, his daughter may have been named after the native woman who had lived among the Spaniards in the Ladrone Islands and converted many people of the Kalae Pohaku and Puunui areas of Oahu to the Catholic religion. When the woman refused to change her religion, she was taken by Kaahumanu to Maui to be abandoned at Kahoolawe. Because the Reverend Richards objected, she was later brought back to Oahu to work in the bullrush swamps in Waikiki, and her story became a sort of legend among the native Catholics.²¹

His marriage was not a happy one. He applied for and was granted a divorce on August 6, 1847, with the terse statement that the divorce had been granted because of the misdeeds of his wife and that she had been punished.²²

Despite his marital difficulties, his work continued. On his 1911 acres at Honokahua, he not only took care of the cattle of Mr. French, but also pastured cattle for Kanaina, Punchard and other foreigners, and probably had a number of his own cattle there. It is not clear whether he had his own slaughtering house, whether he supervised one of the King's, or whether he had some arrangement with someone else to slaughter the cattle to supply the whaling ships.²³

There is no doubt that he was a well known and important figure in Lahaina in the 1840's. Dr. Dwight Baldwin, Missionary at Lahaina, was one of the witnesses to the Armas lease to the pasture land at Honokahua and Kahakuloa and was well aware of his name, but continued to call him "the Spaniard", which perhaps attests to the fact that his appearance in the streets must have conveyed a certain color and romance associated with Spanish Mexico. In describing a *typical* [emphasis by authors] day in Lahaina to friends in New England, Dr. Baldwin mentions *the Spaniard* several times: The Doctor and his son Dwight rode early in the morning to the pasture where the cattle of many individuals were brought before slaughtering (undoubtedly the pasture land leased by Armas). Here cattle were lassoed by two *Spaniards* assisted by natives whom they taught and who had become skillful at it. He noted that Bullock catching was furious business, but that *the Spaniard* seldom got into difficulty, he was so expert on horseback. If he dropped his lasso—no matter—he could pick it up off the ground without even slowing down. Baldwin added with some admiration that any of *the Spaniards* could pick up a dollar off the road while running at full speed by catching their long spur in the wooden saddle while the opposite hand could touch the ground anywhere in an instant. On one occasion, Dr. Baldwin had almost been forced to plunge into the canal from a bridge near the Mission house when a furious young bullock being led to the slaughter house by a *Spaniard* rushed by him with only inches to spare. He was particularly proud of one of the horses his young son Dwight rode—it was Mexican, broken by *the Spaniard*, thoroughly used to catching wild cattle, and therefore safe for a boy to ride. Since wild cattle were disposed to fight, *the Spaniards* trained their horses to take care of themselves and their riders, too.²⁴

Many entries in Joseph Mellish's account books for 1845 and 1846, indicate that the frequent payments to Joaquin Armas for \$176.75, \$100.00, \$96.75, \$200.00, \$100.00, etc., were more than the salary of a clerk. Sometimes the payments must have been for beef to resell over the counter or to whaling ships; sometimes they were probably for goat skins, since Starkey and Janion wrote that they could dispose of as many goat skins as Mellish could provide. On one occasion, Mellish sent Armas to the other side of Maui (possibly to land called *Ahuakolea*, thirty acres in Waikapu owned by Kanaina and given by him in 1847 to Armas) to bring in bullocks for Punchard and Company to kill. To assist in his work, Joaquin had bought at auction from Punchard and Company, a small Schooner, registered under the name of *Maria*, for which he had a coasting license. Since he was still married at this time, it is possible that his Schooner was named for his wife.²⁵

Meanwhile, back in California, still a part of Mexico, unrest which had started in 1831 at the time Armas had left, continued to increase. In 1845-1846, an uprising headed by leading natives resulted in driving two more Governors from office. In 1845, Thomas Larkin, American Consul at Monterey, was instructed to work for the Secession of California from Mexico without overt aid from the United States, but with their good will and sympathy. The American Captain Fremont, engaged in a surveying expedition, entered California. Mexican authorities, alarmed at the size of the party and its military aspects (especially after he had seized, in violation of orders, a band of Mexican cavalry mounts), ordered Fremont to leave. He complied, withdrawing only to the Oregon border. This was the beginning; in 1848, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico officially ceded California to the United States. Rather than accept land grants of the Mexican regime, whose validity in some cases was questionable, the United States set up a Land Commission and Courts to sift out the valid from the fraudulent. Many of the old families of Spanish origin had claims of great value. Among those must have been the family of Joaquin and Felipe Armas.²⁶

Word of what was happening in California must have reached the Armas brothers in the Sandwich Islands, and they thought it of sufficient importance for one of them to return to his native land. Sometime in 1845 or early 1846, Felipe left the Islands for California, accompanied by his wife (a part-Hawaiian woman named Mary Richardson) and their three children, Lucia, Maria, and Sebastian, all born in the Islands. Felipe was a litigant (presumably on a land claim) in February of 1846; then in April he is reported as going to Santa Cruz where he was a litigant for the rest of the year. In July, he complained that Fremont had taken four of his horses for his California Battalion.²⁷

Felipe returned to the Islands in 1848, probably early in the year. We do not know what he told his brother Joaquin, but whatever it was, it convinced Joaquin that he, too, should return to California. It must have been for this reason that in May of 1848 he borrowed \$3300 from James Jarves and Abijah P. Everett. For security, he mortgaged his house and land at Moanui which was now "held and used by the American Government as a Hospital." In March of the same year he had already borrowed \$2000 from Charles H. Nicholson, the black tailor in Honolulu. Later in August, he sold to Nicholson and Henderson for \$3000 some 100 head of cattle and 16 horses from the pasture at Waikapu, marked with the distinctive brand: AP.²⁸

It is interesting to note that in his haste to collect what money he could and make arrangements for his departure, he forgot to pick up his Royal Patent No. 2754 (on Land Commission Award 962 for his land

in Moanui) even though it was already paid for. It was still unclaimed in October 1856.²⁹

On September 30, 1848, the *Polynesian* included in the list of those intending to leave the kingdom the names of J. Armas and A. Armas (this must have been a typographical error because Felipe Armas had applied for and was granted a passport on July 15, 1838). Felipe had given his residence as Honolulu. Joaquin acquired his passport on October 2, when he gave his residence as Lahaina and his age as 39. Both men gave their profession as *Labrador*, Spanish for farmer. The date of their sailing has not been found but it must have been soon after Joaquin received his passport. In 1850, he was living at Rancho Trinidad in Pajaro Valley, California.³⁰

It was from California, that he negotiated with Dr. Dow a lease on his Moanui property dated December 4, 1850. Mr. S. Hoffmeyer acted as his Agent in Lahaina. The final document was no doubt the result of letters exchanged between Armas in California and Hoffmeyer in Lahaina. The fact that a clause was included in this lease which gave Armas and his assigns and their servants the right to enter the premises "to view and make improvements without previous notice" suggests that when Milo Calkin had been running the hospital, Armas had not been allowed to enter his own premises.³¹

At about the same time that Dr. Dow was signing this lease in Lahaina, Joaquin Armas, soon to die, was signing his last will and testament at Rancho Trinidad. In this will, he declared that he had property which was his and his brother's in the "Island of S. Dich" [Sandwich Islands] and that it was rented for 500 pesos a year. He also noted that the work he had done for the King of the Sandwich Islands amounted to 65,000 dollars and he thought that of this amount he should be paid a third part. His daughter, Luisa, was his sole heir, and he asked that she remain under the care of his brother until she was married. Aside from inquiries made in her behalf by R. H. Bowlin concerning some of the property which Armas had owned, there is also a hint of Luisa in a paper in San Miguel, California, which tells of a burial there in 1889 of Luisa Armas, widow of Marcos Morelli, a native of Durango.³²

Joaquin Armas died in California on December 18, 1850 at the age of forty-one. For a long time, the colorful figure of the King's Bullock Catcher must have been missed in the streets of Lahaina.³³

NOTES

- ¹ Native Testimony on Land Commission Awards (translation at AH), 377*, v. 2; Description from Passports, 1845-1874, mss, AH, Passport No. 160; Curtis J. Lyons, *Traces of Spanish Influence in the Hawaiian Islands*, HHS Papers No. 2. *Both names given: Huakini Paniola and Joaquin Armas.
- ² Armas, Felipe and Joaquin, Biographical File, AH; Encyclopedia Britannica, 1948 edition, p. 595.
- ³ Joseph Brennan, *The Parker Ranch of Hawaii: The Saga of A Ranch and A Dynasty*. (New York: The John Day Company, 1974), p. 45; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, Volume 1, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968), pp. 317-318; Station Report for 1837 for Missionary Station at Waimea, Hawaii, HMCS; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), pp. 334-335; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, (Canandaigua, N. Y.: H. D. Goodwin, 1855) p. 421; Josephine Sullivan, *A History of C. Brewer & Company, Limited*, (Boston: Walton Advertising & Printing Company, 1926), pp. 39-40; Stephen Reynolds Journal, August 10, 1831, HMCS microfilm.
- ⁴ FO & EX, British Commission Documents, Armas to Simpson Feb. 13, 1843.
- ⁵ Ibid and Stephen Reynolds Journal, April 4-6, 15, & May 2, 1831.
- ⁶ FO & EX, see note 4; Stephen Reynolds Journal August 10, 1831.
- ⁷ Mary Charlotte Alexander, *Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina*, (Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 44; Bernice Judd, *Early Days of Waimea, Hawaii*, HHS annual Report, 1931; Rev. Dwight Baldwin to ABCFM, Nov. 3, 1834, HMCS; Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), Volume 4, p. 218; Despatches of U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hooper to Calhoun, Dec. 31, 1844.
- ⁸ William French Account Journal in Private Collection M-312, AH, entries charged to Hokini Dec. 15, 1832, Jan. 3, 1833; Rev. Dwight Baldwin to Levi Chamberlain, May 27, 1833, Baldwin letters, HMCS.
- ⁹ Francis Allyn Olmstead, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage*, 1841, Reprint, (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), p. 230; Curtis J. Lyons, *Traces of Spanish Influence in the Hawaiian Islands*, HHS Papers, No. 2; Stephen Reynolds Journal, April 27, 1833.
- ¹⁰ IDM, Dec. 5, 1833 (Malapropisms are better than we could think up—they were original with Armas); IDM Aug. 22, 1838.
- ¹¹ FO & EX, British Commission Documents, 1843, Feb. 13 & Doc. No. 16.
- ¹² FO & EX Doc. 117; LCA 962, Bk 1, p. 566; Foreign Testimony, 66, v.2; Native Testimony, 377, v.2.
- ¹³ Nawaakoa, LCA 2762; Foreign testimony 161, v. 7 and 108, v. 7; Pukui and Elbert *Hawaiian Dictionary*, (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973), p. 281 under *ho'opaki*.
- ¹⁴ SIG Sept. 17, 1836; Lucille A. Brundage, *Alfred W. Carter* (Kamuela, Hawaii: Hongkong: Cathay Press, Ltd., 1971).
- ¹⁵ FO & EX, British Commission Documents, 1843, Feb. 13; IDM, Feb. 7, 1853; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Volume I, pp. 318 & 163-164.
- ¹⁶ Father Reginald Yzendorn, *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands*, (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Limited, 1927), p. 178.
- ¹⁷ FO & EX, British Commission Documents, April 19, 1843; Mar. 13 and April 19, 1843; Stephen Reynolds Journal, Oct. 18, 1837, Aug. 9-15, 1838; Baldwin Letters, Rev. Baldwin to Levi Chamberlain, Sept. 19, 1838, HMCS; P, Oct. 31, 1841.

- ¹⁸ Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii*, (Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 325; W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: American Book Company, 1899), p. 243.
- ¹⁹ Hooper Letters, mss. UH, Calkin to Hooper, July 23, 1844.
- ²⁰ Olmstead, *Incidents of Whaling Voyage*, p. 230; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol. 1, p. 238 and note 29.
- ²¹ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Volume I, p. 230; Naturalization records, Book A, AH, p. 51; PCR, Dec. 10, 1846; Armas will (copy) in Armas Biographical File, AH; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, pp. 326-328.
- ²² IDL, Bk. 2, p. 100 (translation courtesy of Dorothy B. Barrere).
- ²³ George W. Punchard and Co. Records, 1842-1859, Private Collection M 281, AH, Receipt and Agreement between Armas and Kanaina & Punchard, Jan. 3, 1846; IDLF, Dec. 25, 1846; Armas charged at rate of 3/8 pr. head—1/8 dollars, 12-1/2¢ was equivalent to Spanish real.
- ²⁴ Baldwin Letters, HMCS, Baldwin to E. B. Robinson, Sept. 1846.
- ²⁵ Joseph Mellish, Letters, Bills and Account Journals, Private Collection M 272, AH, Account Books for 1845 and 1846; Punchard Records, Letter Sam Reynolds to Punchard, Feb. 18, 1845; IDLF, Document 68 and Bowlin to Sec'y of Land Commission, 1851; IDM, July 9 & Aug. 28, 1846.
- ²⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume 4, p. 596.
- ²⁷ Armas Biographical File, L. Rowland, Santa Cruz, Cal. to R. Kuykendall, Hawaii, AH.
- ²⁸ Ibid; HBC, Mortgage Bk. 3, pp. 389-392 (Armas is referred to as a storekeeper in this document—while in Lahaina, he had license for retailing, also for peddling and hawking); Court Records of First Circuit Court, AH, Law 768, Nicholson and Henderson vs. Armas; HBC, Bk. 3, p. 322.
- ²⁹ IDLF, Oct. 1, 1856.
- ³⁰ P, Sept. 30, 1848; Passports, 1845-1874, AH, Felipe No. 54, Joaquin No. 160; Armas Biographical File, see note 27.
- ³¹ HBC, Bk. 4, pp. 315-316.
- ³² Armas Biographical File, see note 27; (no record has been found that his heir received part of 1/3 of \$65,000;) IDLF, Oct. 23, 1851.
- ³³ Clipping from Santa Cruz newspaper dated July 27, 1952 in column titled *Circuit Rider* by Leon Rowland, copy in Lahaina Restoration Foundation Notes.